1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kaparkui *	Kipkokoo Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipiekes *	Kipiekes	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil *	Kipsirkui	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toipui *	Toipui	Nandi clan	rain
Kurapur *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talui *	Talui	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kiponqui,* corresponding to the Nandi Kaswalka, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kopot, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or bitr, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kirwokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokwet* (p. 32).

The Kovet

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*koveseek*, sing. *kovet*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *kovet* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kirwokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *koveseek*, named (from north to south), Ceparur, Kelpui, Sirun, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sagalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

623 live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a
[987] path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days
[36] shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution.
623 Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men,
691 and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into
673 two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also
674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *cesoriloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

M D 682 648 M [824] [326]

/262 cont./
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682]

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished,

D [847] [839] [674]

as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D 685

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said

D 683

not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to

D 689

charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 681

Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidoh, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]